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### REVIEW OF UNPUBLISHED POLISH PUBLICATIONS SURVEYED -

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By RAD Research

**Summary:** The following survey reviews a selection of titles appearing in Polish samizdat (i) form during the months September to November 1977. It includes extracts from *Pravda* (Nos. 1 and 2), *Solidarnosc* (No. 8), *Polska* (no. 11), *Robotnik* (Nos. 1, 2, and 3), *RAD* (no. 19), and a new document on censorship.

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#### Introduction

Since the first appearance of a communiqué issued by the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR) on 29 September 1976, the principal objective of Polish samizdat publications has been to inform their readers of news in

- (i) The quality and size of Polish samizdat publications vary enormously, ranging from the barely legible *Robotnik*, some of whose contents can only be guessed at, and the 4-page issues of *Robotnik*, to the relative sophistication of the 87-page illustrated gala. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the difficulties of production -- involving either typing in as many carbon copies as possible, mimeographing on invariably inferior equipment, or retyping, often by amateur, for further distribution -- are manifest and can often contribute to unclear and inaccurate texts.

uncensored form. Initially responding only to an immediate need -- for information on events arising out of the widespread workers' protests against price rises in June 1970 -- they now cover a broad range of happenings unrecorded in the official press. This is partly due to the emergence of other regular (though often intermittent) gazette publications, which has brought with it an enlargement of their scope. In addition to their original purpose they are now also aiming to promote an awareness of human and civil rights, to offer practical advice and help in cases where rights are denied, to create a sense of solidarity within and between different sections of society and persuade them to act together, to encourage discussion of alternatives to present conditions in Poland, and to make available to a wider audience the work of censored writers.

The tenor of the following extracts is, on the whole, measured and restrained and the sentiments expressed moderate though -- particularly in cultural matters -- they are sometimes highly patriotic and/or nationalistic. This would suggest that gazette publications are representative of popular opinion and are not just the expression of a "tiny and insignificant group" (as claimed by N. Riniarczyk in the official party daily Przodowni Lada of 8 August 1977). While seemingly intent on keeping strictly within the law, however, a very distinct undertone of opposition to the present regime can be detected.

PRATELKU No. 1, October 1971

The title of this new student publication is untranslatable. It is the slang name given to Szczotka Pomoć (Brotherly Aid), a student social aid organization between the wars and for a time after 1945, before it was forcibly disbanded. The closest one might come in American English might be "The Frat." The first issue has 14 closely typed and well-nigh illegible pages. The editors are Aleksander Hall (from Gdansk) and Marian Filka (a well-known student activist from Lublin).

Aims

The aims of the journal are given in its editorial as follows:

... To keep the younger generation informed about events in the student and, more broadly, the youth movement.

... To encourage discussion of various ideological problems. That is more, we, as an editorial team, intend to present our own ideological principles, which can in general be reduced to the statement that the full develop-

most of the human personality . . . /is/ only possible under conditions of sovereignty and national liberty.

The editors emphasize that they are purposely confining themselves to youth problems, since other areas are covered by other unhampered publications, in particular *Opinia*.

#### Gdansk Student Solidarity Committee

The May 1977 declaration of Gdansk students on the creation of a Student Solidarity Committee there is reproduced in full. At the end of May, the committee addressed a petition to the Sejm, the episcopate, and the Gdansk City Deputy -- the writer Tadeusz Wolski -- asking them to intervene on behalf of the Solidarnosc workers and of the persecuted members of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR). (2) *Artykuł* prints Wolski's reply dated July 1:

... one cannot call for respect for the law while behaving lawlessly oneself. . . . In every country in the world one is taken to account for such actions. . . . How can you, claiming a lawful attitude, and without awaiting the verdicts of trials, suggest to the public that legal steps against these people are some kind of police reprisal? One should not be so naive as to maintain that KOR does not act politically, under the protective umbrella of obvious qualities of People's Poland at that. Do think about it without any hysteria.

The Student Committee answered point by point on July 13, saying that public demonstrations are not subject to criminal prosecution "in every country in the world," nor are members of KOR prompted by "enemies of People's Poland" but by noble and humanitarian principles and, that if there were any "hysterics," they could chiefly be found in the press campaign directed against the freedom movements.

#### "Catholicism . . . the backbone of the Polish People and Culture"

In the opinion column ("Poplaski"), a devout priest, Father Bronislaw Drabik, argues that catholicism has always formed the backbone of the Polish people and Polish culture:

We have no need to tramp around various stock exchanges or -- if you prefer -- black markets of ideas, looking for something to buy. We are in the fortunate position of

(2) For a summary of the KOR's activities see Polish Situation Report/73, *Radio Free Europe Research*, 13 October 1977, Item 3.

possessing as a people an idea which has become a paramount treasure of our national culture. . . . its worth has been tested over the centuries. For Poles, it cannot be just one of a number of better or worse ideologies from which to choose, subject to the vagaries of fashion and the laws of change. . . . This unique idea is the Christian religion.

The particular problems of Christian students, arising from the new law on higher education, according to which all activities must be based on dialectical materialism, are discussed by Leon Donici in "A Voice on the Law." The editors add that his article should prompt not only criticism of the law, but suggestions as to its improvement.

#### Harassment of Students

Details of student meetings in Lodz following the death of Stanislaw Pyjas are given. (3) A number of students and members of KOR have since been harassed, briefly arrested and had their lodgings searched. Brief accounts are also given of student harassment in other parts of Poland.

REVIEW No.1, November 1977

The second issue of Reprint consists of 17 pages.

#### Future Development of the Student Movement

Under the title "What Next?" Marian Pilka advises on how to develop the independent student movement throughout all Polish academic centers. He believes that social activities prompted by current events -- discussion groups, readings, cabarets -- are only a beginning. They should be seen as a foundation for the next stage in the process of social and political development in Poland: the emergence of different political parties.

Other suggestions for various forms of activities possible for a free student movement are made in "Theses for Discussion of an Independent Student Movement," and the Student Solidarity Committee of Poznan stresses the importance of student unity:

YOU ARE NOT ALONE! By creating the image of your desires, you bring forth a new world. By fighting for your own authenticity, you fight for authentic social life.

(3) See Polish SP/12, REPRINT, 10 May 1977, item 2.

### "Militant Attitude . . . a Free and Independent Republic of Poland"

Thomas Mrocz discusses in his article "Why Protest?" the attitudes of the reform movement and two possible approaches to it.

Either one believes that one can come to an agreement with despotic rulers, or with the appropriate authorities, namely the powers-that-be who guard "law and order," and convince them at the price of concessions and the abandonment of maximum demands, to allow limited reforms in Poland. Or, alternatively, opposition can be seen as a moral necessity to fight against the evil and pathological aspects of political life in Poland. Moral action is guided by its own laws and need not be accompanied by any guarantees of practical achievements. . . .

The first attitude is naive, since it is impossible to play political games with a body which fails to follow the rules. A further risk lies in destroying the moral bases of action by getting involved in bargaining with the authorities. . . . Moral action is only a prelude to political action. For after the initial rejection of evil for humanitarian reasons (for instance, in defending mistreated and tortured workers after the events of June), we must begin to consider the resources and possibilities for changing this state of affairs.

While maintaining national values, Mrocz continues, while "surviving" for the time being, one must always keep in mind the ultimate aim, ". . . a free and independent republic of Poland."

### Official and Unofficial Versions

An unsigned article, "Terror is the Eye," remonstrates with the authors of articles in Przyjaciel Ludu and Solidarnosc -- following accounts of political violence in the West -- saying that terror is a by-product of capitalism. To the contrary, says the English article, it reminds one of some of the horrors of "the red terror" of 1917-1921, followed by those of the 1930s and 1940s, and of the fact that:

In 1956 "big brother" out of sheer love of truth and freedom, sent tanks to Budapest, and in 1968 to Prague and Bratislava. Today we have harassment, dismissals, surveillance, defamation. Methods change, the doctrine remains. Yet all this is hard to find in the articles of Kierski, Woyciechowski.

"A Handful of Remarks on the Necessity of the Full Implementation of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic" is an

Ironic comparison, paragraph by paragraph, of all the advantages provided by the Constitution, compared with the lack of freedom in South Africa, Rhodesia, Uganda, Saudi Arabia, Nepal and the US (the latter in the matter of the confidential nature of correspondence which is "widely known" to be violated).

#### Brief News Items

Among news items from various parts of Poland are details of further harassment of students in Gdansk.

While in almost all academic centers in Poland branches of the independent student movement are being formed, special meetings have been called by the official Socialist Union of Polish Students, warning against joining the movement and discussing the possibility of isolating its members from the student community.

#### OPINIA NO. 4, October 1977

The latest available issue of Opinia -- the journal of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights (ROPOC), (4) which first appeared in March 1977 -- consists of over 30 items amounting to some 80 typewritten pages. These cover brief news reports and longer pieces on the activities of "unofficial" Poland, theoretical and analytical articles, letters to the editor, a documents section, an editorial and a "Commentary of the Month." A selection of items, grouped under some of the principal themes, are summarized here.

#### The Future of Polish Society: What Kind of Moralism?

Leszek Maciolak, writing in the commentary of the month, "The Last Stand," believes that the emergence of pluralism can be seen in Poland. The party leaders are tired and can only hope that the opposition will destroy itself internally in internal struggles. "Comrades from the CP then project their own, interparty, factional struggles to those outside, believing that this must be a universal occurrence." The author has talked to a number of prominent party members and they can see little hope for the future. The party is in a state of siege; it may still make desperate forays, but it clings to conservative, well-tried methods, hoping to stop the clock. "They dream of some success which might finally reverse the endless series of defeats. Hence Giersz's telegram to the victorious Polish soccer team in Denmark, "A success, at last!"

(4) See Polish SH/16, and 25, APPENDIX, 15 June and 13 October 1977, Items 1 and 24, respectively.

The editorial on "The Formation of Pluralism" begins with the situation in October 1956, when great hopes of improvement were soon dashed. This was mainly due to the fact that Gierek was trusted on the basis of his record, that the party remained firmly in command, and that no organized social movement emerged within the nation to control the authorities from the outside. After December 1970, Gierek introduced a fake democracy; although the public is still not able to appoint its true representatives, the authorities are pretending to conduct a "dialogue" with it. Persons in the "siligozy" are selected agents of the security apparatus acting as "representatives of the working class." Had organized, durable pressure groups been created in 1956 or 1970, both Gierek and Giersz would have been greatly hampered in their freedom of maneuver, and policy would have been placed under public scrutiny.

Today, we are at the threshold of great changes. In order not to repeat the bitter disappointment of October, in order to achieve true progress in human and civil rights . . . our most urgent task is to create a pluralist system. A great deal has been done in recent months and the results are evident. But it is not enough.

Success can only be achieved through a combination of plurality and unity.

In "A United but not a Monolithic Party," Stanislaw Jarczewski says that although socio-economic progress is the basis of liberty, such progress can also be achieved under a one-party system. Therefore, it is not enough simply to call for more freedom, one must have a definite program and well-established aims. He concludes:

It seems to me that the defense of human and civil rights should concentrate under present conditions above all on basic rights, i.e., the right to information and to democratic elections of representative bodies at central and local levels, so as to create a state which would represent the will of the majority. All the forces of democratic opposition should now concentrate on this task.

Next year Staniewicz speculates on what sort of program and attitudes have a chance of majority support in Poland today. He believes that the greatest chance lies with the democratic traditions of the Polish Socialist Party as founded 45 years ago by leaders like Josef Pilsudski. Yet there is also a large group of Christian Democrats. Furthermore, there are those who are attached to the present government (through inertia rather than conviction) and would hang on to power for dear life.

### Then and Now

Under the ironic title, "Sociological Apartheid," Tadeusz Rzepka writes about the artificial barriers raised by Marxism in society, about the creation of a state founded on "sociological segregation." He quotes Bakunin's warning expressed three years after Lenin's birth (1873): "Any state, even a pseudopopular state invented by Mr. Marx is, in essence, an apparatus guiding the masses through . . . a privileged minority which allegedly understands the interests of the people better than the people themselves." Rzepka then continues:

Unfortunately, there did emerge such a state . . . of "boss" political leaders, senior administrators, managers, and blindly obedient state officials, of men standing above the law and always in the right.

And a state of such overwhelming omnipotence, in which acceptance no attempt is made even to maintain the appearance of law and democracy. . . . I keep wondering, if this is applied socialism, what will communism be like?

There was once a party which called itself socialist and which implemented a policy of dividing people into haves and wifes. This cost over 50,000,000 million lives. . . .

It is not enough to write the word socialism into the Constitution.

These sentiments are endorsed by Marek Blasie, a former prisoner in Nazi concentration camps who was later tortured and imprisoned for 10 years by the security forces in Poland. In "Letters to the Editor" he writes that, while he has nothing against socialism, he gets the impression that

Our country is the private property of the party which -- watched lethargically by the inspections (I.e., the S.A.P. -- S.P. editor) -- does what it likes with 34,000,000,000 citizens, imposing upon them its interpretation of patriotism, justice and the law, while reserving for its own uses the privileged life style of an oligarchy.

The editor, Januszkiwicz, replies that not all Communists were or are bad.

### "At the Crossroads -- the Political Possibilities of the P.P.S."

Under this title Andrzej Wronicki discusses two possible ways for the party to deal with the admittedly extremely difficult economic situation in Poland. The first finds most supporters

among the middle-ranking party apparatchiks and the police, and advocates toughness when people demand their rights. "If it should come to brutality, this could possibly occur after the closing of the Belgrade conference." It would be a repeat of December 1970 -- first provoking a violent outburst, then brutal reprisals, followed by small concessions and a re-tightening of the screws afterward.

Another variation would be an increase in democratic rights and this is much more likely. It would be a maneuver similar to that of October 1976 and, again, there would be a gradual retreat from rights granted earlier. One hope lies in the Belgrade conference, where the Soviet Union will be put in the dock. Yet the public must take immediate advantage of all freedoms, should any be granted. The greater the freedom of the press, freedom in electing representatives to the gminy, to the people's councils or to the trade unions, the harder it will subsequently be for the authorities to turn back the tide.

Meanwhile, wide-scale violations of civil and human rights continue.

#### On Civil and Human Rights

The case is quoted in detail of an elderly man, Mieczyslaw Lewa-Boryslawski, who had been fighting for equal old-age pensions and was first arrested for "action harmful to People's Poly '77" in 1973. He was moved from prison to a psychiatric hospital in 1977 against the advice of doctors who rightly objected that "keeping him there could only increase his sense of persecution and bitterness, particularly as the patient was aware that it was being done against medical advice." Finally, during the August 1977 amnesty, Lewa-Boryslawski was released from hospital. The editors comment: "As we can see, the magnanimous amnesty in People's Poland also covers psychiatric hospitals." And, as equal pensions were legally approved in March 1977, Boryslawski had been in the right from the start.

Pensioners in the United States, on the other hand, are forced to live in poverty -- or at a Soviet work, On Death and Account Rights, published officially in Poland, would have the public believe. It explains how millions of children in the US do not go to school, how criminals are locked up in psychiatric wards (while in Great Britain psychiatric cases are put in prisons for lack of hospital spaces), and how the CIA feeds people info. Yet, despite the appearance of this publication, Solidarnosc notes, the UN and Helsinki texts on human rights still await official publication in Poland.

Freedom of religion, a right guaranteed in the Polish Constitution, continues to be violated, note the authors of two long articles on the difficulties of organizing holiday camps for Catholic children. One camp was so harassed by the authorities

that it had to be closed down; this resulted in a hunger strike and sit-in in a church in Kropla. The priest in charge was harassed by the authorities, and hundreds of signatures were collected protesting about official obstructions to freedom of religion.

#### New Books and Documents

*Opinia* publishes a wide selection of news items unrecorded in the official press. It reports at length on the all-national meeting held in Warsaw in September of members of the NSZ and on the Ninth Festival of Sacred Song, held in Warsaw from September 13-18. It notes that the Committee for the Defense of Family and Life, founded in May 1977, continues to protest mass abortions in Poland (some 600,000 annually); Members of the committee are constantly being harassed, their mail is intercepted and they have been threatened with court proceedings.

The founding of *Naftodzik* and *polsatnik*, the formation of the Committee for Social Self-Defense "NSR" to replace the Committee for the defense of the workers (1) and the creation of several Student Solidarity Committees, are announced.

Excerpts from *Opinia* No. 5 were apparently read aloud by a NSR supporter during the lunch break at a glass factory in Radom. They aroused great interest among the workers, who have requested more copies.

The full text of the Declaration of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights in Poland, issued in Warsaw in September in connection with the impending opening of the Belgrade conference, is reproduced, and long extracts are published of the pastoral letter from Cardinal Wyszyński read in churches at the beginning of October.

The issues choose by giving addresses in nine cities where representatives of the Social Self-Defense Committee "NSR" can be consulted.

#### FILE NO. 1, October 1977

*Opinia* is a "literary quarterly appearing irregularly" and, with the exception of *Kania*, seems to be the best-produced and most legible uncensored publication to date. The first issue

(1) See Polish SR/15, *PERI*, 10 October 1977, Item 2.

has 87 pages, plus 3 pages of photographic portraits by Barbara Pietrzak of Father Jan Skiba, Marek Edelman and Jan Josef Lipinski, and 3 pages of drawings by Wojciech Malynski. It includes poems, essays, literary criticism, and news items about censored cultural activities.

### Aims

In an opening statement, the editors write:

Fala was created, because

- lack of freedom of speech and criticism paralyzes the development of culture, destroys its wealth and variety;
- the enforced silence, or the forced expression of ideas contrary to personal conviction, destroys the sense of personal dignity of man and of the writer;
- when the possibility of the public expression of thoughts and free discussion disappear, the inclination and the desire to think in general also disappear.

Fala was not created against censorship, because censorship is not the cause but the effect of still. Nor is it an alliance of censor's "rejects." Nor is it a publication of a single generation.

We do not want to formulate our own program. But we are inclined to further social literature . . . where a writer subjectively registers facts and creates an image of the world and . . . thus helps the reader arrive at a synthesis which, in a liberal model of culture, is known as truth. . . .

We are sorry to disappoint those who expected something else from us.

### On Banishment and Propaganda

Almost exactly 16 years ago, a professor of sociology, Stanislaw Ossowski (who has since died) wrote an article for Przeryw (Interrupting) under the title "The Problem of Free Expression in Socialist Discussions." The article was never allowed to appear, either in Przeryw or in other more minor and therefore less severely censored periodicals. After 16 years, it has not lost any of its topicality and, as the editors explain, Fala has chosen it to open its first issue. Ossowski claimed that:

Native attempts to defend scholarly authority through censorship or reprisals directed against opposing views fail to consider the prevalent opinion that truth is stronger than falsehood and thus that censorship must intervene in order to prevent the emergence of truth. Discarding one's own methods of research or one's own achievements, when opponents are forced into silence, may well lead to results opposite to those intended.

Censorship certainly appears to be having a disastrous effect on the Polish film industry. A report relates that not only are dozens of scripts being turned down, but completed films are being shelved, and that even a highly promising science fiction film, *On the Silver Globe*, was halted in the course of production. First Deputy Minister of Culture himself is, apparently, chiefly responsible for this state of affairs. He recently met Polish film directors and they were unanimous in opposing the restrictions, appealing to him not to destroy Polish film making. A resolution was passed to that effect and sent to the highest state and party authorities.

However, Tadeusz Gajc explains in "We Just Against Censorship," that in order to accept the censor an increasing number of literary works are being published outside the official circuit. Moreover:

... literature, art, every creative spiritual activity lives and functions above the situation, in the sphere of values. . . . The tragedy of *Makabchia Mandelblat* (Incidentally, one of the greatest works of 20th century prose) proves how the life of literature can pass through contaminated areas. As for the life of authors, that is another matter. . . .

Neither literature, nor philosophy, nor any other creative activity can and should submit itself to institutional limitations. We have almost become accustomed to thinking that only a member of the writers' union is worthy of the name of writer, and that an artist is one who can show a pass, preferably with a state seal. Yet a creator's only true pass is his creation. Nothing more. . . .

Antoni Pawlik's poem, "Beyond My Powers," written in 1973-1976, is circulating in typewriter form in Poland and appears in full without the author's knowledge. The seven-page poem in blank verse expresses the feelings of a young man who finds it beyond his capacity to love his country as all Poles have done before him, because its image has been so distorted by propaganda.

He describes all the examples of counterrevolution and says:

I no longer feel moved when I hear  
the word POLAND but only a slight  
shuddering since the day I saw  
sped sixteen the lines of tanks advancing on the south  
and I seem to begin to understand Patriotic war when  
I hold in hungry heads  
a citizen

from a Western illustrated periodical,  
an unclear photograph of a student  
from many Prague whose name was  
Jan Palach -- the Living Torch of Autumn  
or when in the room of my last friend I gazed  
at the sad face of Alexander Solzhenitsyn  
trying to find in it evil  
and give up in a while  
knowing that this is impossible  
or at least beyond my power

at such times I no longer understand myself  
and know that I can expect help from nowhere

In contrast to Favel's bewildered despair, Czeslaw Milosz's  
poem about a tycoon who has hurt the helpless and is surrounded  
by clowns, only intent on surviving another day, pictures a  
rebellious pursuit of justice:

Do not feel safe yet. The past remembers.  
You may well kill him -- a new one will be born.  
All deeds and speeches will be written down.

'Would have been better for you to have hung  
On a bent branch on some winter morn,

Other items in this issue include poems by Bogdan Cytrynowski  
and Stanislaw Sosulski; Polish translations of poems by Alexander  
Ginsberg and Ferlinghetti; excerpts from Witold Gombrowicz's  
forthcoming novel, *Sosny*, and his review of the London-published  
Polish literary journal, *Raport*; an article on Leszek Kolakowski  
by Grzegorz Malinowski; a detailed account of the Third Mass  
of Christian Culture, held in Warsaw in April and addressed by  
Cardinal Wyszyński; and news of other suppressed publications and  
readings by censored authors in a private apartment.

The issue ends with "Thaw" by Jacek Mierasik, a brief, ironic  
essay about the various minor difficulties besetting the average  
citizen -- standing in line, reading idiotic sloppery, failing to  
get a pass to cross to the Slovak side of the Tatra. It concludes:

"Things are so bad they couldn't get worse," said my dog,  
the pessimist.  
"Indeed they can," I answered optimistically.

ROZNAK No. 1, September 1977

A short, four-page publication, issued jointly by intellectuals and workers, Roznak (The Worker) states in its first editorial:

Our aim is to support initiatives directed toward

-- the staunch defense of workers' rights;

-- increasing worker participation in fixing wages, hours and conditions of work, social and housing conditions;

-- supporting independent representation of workers so as to replace once and for all the dead institution of trade unions.

The issue describes a labor conflict in Fabianice and demands that workers fired from Uzava, Rada, and the Czechoslovak shipyards be reassigned to their former jobs and compensated for wage losses while out of work or in inferior jobs. A petition on the same lines was sent to Glanzk from a foundry in Grodzisk.

Roznak comments that Article 52 of the Labor Code is couched in such vague terms that management can use it to fire workers for political reasons. The emergent workers movement should try to clarify its interpretation.

ROZNAK No. 2, October 1977

This four-page issue again concentrates on reports of the plight of workers.

A detailed account is given of a case already mentioned in the popular Warsaw daily, *Pravda Robotnicza*. Workers who were lured by false promises to move to Silesia found conditions there untenable and none of the promises made to them kept. They are now experiencing great difficulties in getting their old jobs back.

Another article describes the appalling conditions in coal mines: overtime, work on Sundays, lack of safety and hygiene regulations. The supposedly high wages of miners are achieved only by inhuman exploitation.

An account is given of an election to the works council of the Petersenowki Plant in Warsaw-Mokotow. The party secretary called in the delegates (70 per cent of whom were party members) and told them to elect the current, highly unpopular, chairman. Since there were no vocal objections, he thought the election was sorted up and the ceremony was organized with the participation of the Mokotow deputy secretary and trade union chairman Kruszak among the guests. Much to the embarrassment of the officials, the candidate failed to get even 50 per cent of the votes. Another party member, believed to be closer to the workers, was elected instead. After the elections, the secretary

called in the men again and told them, in much stronger terms, that they had disappointed him and disgraced themselves. However, the election was only a temporary victory, since the new council would appear to be no better than the old. The article ends:

Why did the council, democratically elected, fail the voters? Are its members afraid of the authorities? Could better candidates be found? Or is it the fault of the trade unions in which works councils are dominated by the party? How can the situation be changed? We await your views.

An explanation is given of Paragraph 30 of the Labor Code about dismissal from work, and advice on how to use it to one's advantage.

#### ROBOTSIK No. 1, October 1977

The announcement in Robotnik No. 3 of the creation of the Committee for Social Self Defense "KOS" to replace the Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR) coincides with a broadening of scope in the third issue of this KOR publication. It not only deals with matters directly relating to conditions of work, but appears to be trying to appeal to a wider audience with its account of the problems of small-scale farming and a report on a religious song festival.

The majority of its four pages is devoted to an enquiry into "Why Is There No Meat?" and describes the problems of Polish farming. It would appear that the meat supply deteriorated even further when it became impossible for small-scale breeders to obtain fodder; although only raising a few cattle per head, they used to supply up to 15 per cent of all meat on the market.

The Ninth Festival of Sacred Song in Kalisz is reported, and the editors comment: "Some 2,000 people attended the festival. The town lived for that event for several days, but the press, radio and television did not mention a single word about it. For anyone who only reads the censored press, the festival did not exist, or at least, so the authorities imagine."

Meeting protests against extending working hours are recorded and a very account is given of the excellent means of fulfilling the plan devised by the management of the Radom Leather Factory in Radom: workers leaving the shift found the gates locked, and were told that unless they worked overtime, their wages would be cut. Extracts from Cardinal Wyszyński's letter dealing with working hours, which was read out in church on October 3, are also included, and practical advice given, together with a sample letter to the appropriate authorities, as to what to do in the case of dismissal from work.

#### KOB Communiqué No. 19, Al October 1977

The latest KOR communiqué gives the text of its "Letter to Czech and Slovak Friends" (October 11), sent in connection with the trial of signatories of Charter 77.

(b) See Polish SR/21, KOR, 11 October 1977, Item 3.

A statement of October 28 concerns freedom of information. It says that, as a result of lack of information, there have been partially false rumors about offenses in Gdansk, of which only one had actually been confirmed later:

In view of the lack of openness of public life and the consequent spread of rumors, frequently initiated by groups connected with the authorities, and in view of reprisals against people who transmit information, it is impossible to exclude errors. We state that the whole responsibility for possibly untrue information lies squarely with the party and state authorities which are responsible for the above state of affairs.

The communiqué relates that the Intervention Bureau of KGB (7) has to deal with many cases where people, who would elsewhere be termed harmless eccentricities, are treated in the harshest fashion.

Thus, in Tukopane in 1973, Pawel Swistak erected a memorial to General Sikorski in his garden. He was first arrested, then released, then sentenced to a year in prison and a fine of 40,000 zloty. Swistak is a sick man with a bad heart and a kidney transplant. The status was confiscated. In 1974, the city officials announced that Swistak and his wife had to leave their house as it was required by the Ministry of Health. The Ministry, however, denied this. Nevertheless the couple were evicted and moved to a one-room hotel without sewage facilities or running water. Their house was broken into by the authorities and many of their possessions removed. There the matter rests in October 1977.

In Siedlce, in July 1973, Stanislaw Kaprik built a chapel adjoining his house. The chapel was levelled by a bulldozer and Kaprik arrested for 90 days. In April 1973, Kaprik turned one of the rooms in his house into a chapel. In June, the police broke in during his absence, demolished doors and windows panelling, tore up bedding, destroyed books, drank sacramental wine, etc. Without a warrant, they removed sacred books, ancient manuscripts, as well as the sum of 11,000 zloty. Since then, Kaprik has been arrested several times and admitted to a psychiatric hospital in Lukow (doctors refused to admit him to two other psychiatric hospitals). On October 25, the police checked the documents of everyone leaving his house and Kaprik was once more threatened with unpleasant consequences.

In Poznan, Jerry Raszki, a Polish language graduate, has been under constant harassment since March of this year for his co-operation with the KGB; he has been accused of concealing supplementary funds (his mother-in-law's old-age pension) while on a scholarship, of illegally obtaining 100,000 zloty, and of being an enemy of Poland. He worked in a House of Culture for a few months, but had to leave following these accusations. He has a wife and child and cannot find a job in Poznan. His case goes from court to court, so far every single appeal has dropped the charges, but the regional state attorney's office each time calls for a retrial.

In Radomsko, Jerry Grotkiewicz was knocked down on a zebra crossing by a police dog in June 1973. Two policemen jumped out and kicked and beat him, despite protests by passers-by. During

(7) For further details of the Bureau's activities see Polish 26/1, RFE/RFA, 20 May 1977, item 1a.

"the while, the car was damaged and Grotkiewicz was then imprisoned. He remained in prison for seven weeks, with a severed thigh muscle and injuries to his neck and knee, yet was not admitted to the prison hospital. Upon release he was operated on and is now 30 per cent disabled. After six years, he was awarded damages by the state insurance organization, which is now trying to go back on the claim, maintaining that he may not have been injured in the car accident. The case has been referred by the Supreme Court to the Kazimierz Court for a ruling on whether unlawful arrest took place and injuries were incurred.

In Radom, the case of Stanislaw Brozyna is still unresolved. He was killed during disturbances in Radom in June 1976. A Mrs. Skorkiewicz saw from her apartment how police beat his senseless and gave her statement in writing to Brozyna's widow. The authorities, however, arrested two neighbors and later also Mrs. Skorkiewicz, the letter for failure to provide aid. Her statement disappeared from Mrs. Brozyna's apartment during a police search. Family members of the accused have not been allowed to see them and the trial is to be held behind closed doors on an undisclosed date.

In Tczew, on the other hand, the policeman who in November 1976 shot and killed a man after arresting him in a bar, is at liberty, even though the attorneys for the deceased have asked for the charge to be changed from manslaughter to premeditated murder.

Communist No. 19 reports on the harassment of various members of Amnesty International, and the refusal of passports to ROI members. It also mentions the appearance of several unpermitted publications and ends with the usual appeal to aid all those persecuted and to inform the committee of any injustice, since it has the necessary funds and experts who might be of help.

#### KOB Document on Censorship

On November 18 the Committee for Social Self-Defense "KOB" published a letter from a former employee of the censorship office in Cracow who, after a year and a half on the job, could not take it any longer and escaped to Sweden. With the letter he enclosed 700 pages of documents which he had managed to take away with him, censorship instructions dating from February 1974 to February 1977. They contain all the iniquitous and unimaginable details of what may and may not be mentioned in the press (such as Ild Ains announcing that he was going to raise a statue to Hitler), as well as criticism of mistakes where something had "slipped through." KOB states in conclusion:

we do not hesitate to say that we have here one of the greatest documents of exposure of the whole post-war era, comparable only to the already ancient revelations by Selsic. . . . Once more the thesis is proven that in our political life a dominant role is played by lies and disinformation. . . . We call on all men of good will to inform us of all instances of censorship.